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COURT ACCEPTS CP'S BRIEF

360 noted citizens urge Supreme Court to kill the Internal Security Act

By John T. McManus

THE SUPREME COURT accepted on Sept. 13 a 270-page brief filed by the U.S Communist Party asking that the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) be declared unconstitutional as violating the First and Fifth Amendments. The brief was prepared by attorneys John B. Abt of New York and Joseph Forer, Washington, D.C. It will be argued in November.

On Sept. 16 an **amici curiae** ("friends of the court") brief signed by Sen. Patrick V. McNamara (D-Mich.) and 359 other prominent citizens from 39 states and the District of Columbia was filed with the Court making the same recommendation. Further **amicus** briefs seeking invalidation of the Act are to be filed by the Lawyers Guild and the American Civil Liberties Union.

FRIENDS OF COURT: The list of signatories to the **amici** brief, prepared by attorneys Laurent B. Frantz and Royal W. France include, in addition to Sen. McNamara:

> Dr. Frank Aydelotte, director emeritus, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton; Nobel Prize Winners Emily Greene Balch, Linus Pauling and Harold C. Urey; Protestant Episcopal Bishops Arthur W. Moulton, Charles K. Gilbert and Edward L. Parsons, all retired; Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Detroit; Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Cincinnati; Pres. Charles Leander Hill, Wilberforce University; Rabbi Leo Jung, New York; Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Brooklyn; Hon. Robert Morss Lovett, Chicago; Dr. John P. Peters, Yale; Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard; composer Deems Taylor; Rev. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of **The Churchman**; Dr. Henry Seidel Canby, **Saturday Review of Literature**; author Waldo Frank; Prof. Stringfellow Barr, Rutgers; Prof. Kermit Eby, Univ. of Chicago; Prof. Derk Bodde, Univ. of Penna.; Prof. A. J. Carlson, Univ. of Chicago; author Margaret Halsey; Russell Johnson, American Friends Service Committee (Quakers); Probate Judge Patrick H. O'Brien, Detroit; educator Louise Pettibone Smith and violinist Yehudi Menuhin.

PERILOUS PARELLEL: The main Communist Party brief is an appeal from a 2-1 decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia

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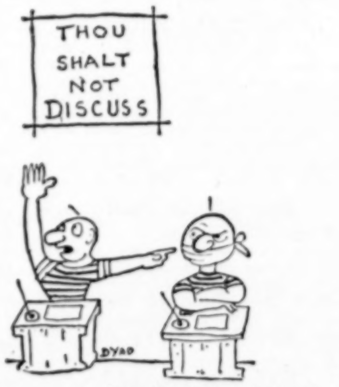

Drawing by Dyad, London

"Please teacher—he's still thinking!"

PERON: THE PISTOLS WERE AS PHONY AS THE MAN HIMSELF
But will his successors in Argentina be any better? See below

THE "REVOLUTION" IN ARGENTINA

Peron quits for new set of dictators

ON SEPT. 12 THE GUARDIAN headlined its report on Argentina: "IS PERON PAVING THE WAY FOR ARMY DICTATORSHIP?" Commenting on dictator Juan Peron's bloodthirsty but otherwise pointless speech from the balcony of the Casa Rosada on Aug. 31, the GUARDIAN speculated that

> ". . . if the Army wanted an excuse for smashing the workers' movement and dismantling the Peronista machinery—not piecemeal but at one blow—it had it now. It could point to Peron's unprecedented call for bloodshed, pose as the restorer of peace and so impose its own dictatorship. The question was: did Peron, certainly the most Machiavellian dictator in Latin America, plan it that way?"

At 4 a.m. on Friday, Sept. 17, a military rebellion broke out in the Argentine provinces and quickly spread. Rebel stations went on the air in Cordoba and thereafter the week-end war seemed mainly a "battle of the airways," as N.Y. **Times** correspondent Edward A. Morrow called it. A pattern became evident through the fog of conflicting communiques.

NOT MUCH SHOOTING: In Cordoba, Mendoza and other provinces the governors were quickly reported to have fled to safety; the military garrisons apparently went over to the rebels with scarcely a shot. "Loyalist" counter-drives dwindled with each succeeding communique. Neither side reported any casualty figures throughout the week-end. The only confirmed losses were five dead and 32 wounded aboard two destroyers that took refuge at Montevideo, Uruguay.

In Buenos Aires the pattern followed that exhibited in the putsch of June 16. Peron, who in his 10-year rule centered all power in himself—particularly in emergencies—turned over full authority, as he did last June, to Minister of the Army Gen. Franklin Lucero, named commander of the "forces of repression."

SILENT DICTATOR: Peron, himself, canceled a speech he was to make to the General Confedn. of Labor Sept. 16 and fell silent for the duration. For a decade Peron had beaten down every attempted coup by calling upon the trade unionists. Even though, since the June 16 uprising, Peron had resigned as head of the Peronista Party, divorced himself from the workers, removed from office his strongest supporters, and tried desperately to discourage the organization he had built, the unionists would still have come out in the streets to defend his government against the military forces they mistrust.

They had asked for arms to form a workers' militia and been turned down. The government instead demanded that all firearms be turned in within 48 hours, an order that could not have been meant for the rebel Navy and Air Force. The N.Y. **Times** (9/18) reported that when Gen. Lucero took command he "demanded that the nation not be distracted by labor disturbances."

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MAYOR WAGNER BARS A FINE JUDGE

N.Y. Negro community is angered by Delany snub

By Eugene Gordon

MAYOR WAGNER shocked New York's Negro community last week when he ignored its almost unanimous plea to reappoint Domestic Relations Judge Hubert T. Delany and named in his place Edward R. Dudley, also a Negro, who had not sought the post and has no judicial experience. Delany was supported for a second 10-year term by the NAACP, Urban League, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, Harlem YMCA, the Citizens Union, the Citizens Committee on Children and the N.Y. County Bar Assn., and by such persons as UN Under Secy. Gen. Ralph Bunche.

The Mayor hedged on his reasons, saying at first that he disagreed with some of Delany's "positions." Then, pressed by a reporter, he said he felt that Delany had some "left wing" views. He said:

> "Any man has a right to his opinions as a private citizen. As a judge he has further obligations."

"CLANDESTINE PRESSURES": Delany, a Republican, replied that it was

> ". . . a sad day for the Negro when one of them in public office cannot speak out for civil rights and against second-class citizenship without being stricken down for his courage."

He was never given a chance to confront the persons who Mayor Wagner said had brought "pressure" against his reappointment.

The NAACP national board just two days earlier had told the Mayor it could

(Caontinued on Page 8)

WE HAVE JUST BEGUN TO FIGHT

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If your address-plate reads Sept. '55 or earlier, your subscription is in arrears and is due for renewal. To renew for 1 year mail address-plate with $3. Do it today.

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THE MAIL BAG

Pentagon pork-barrel

CHICAGO, ILL.

Re-election. Goal for golfer! So, that's why the Administration would cut $1¾ billion from the $36 billion defense budget. But editors and opinion-makers, like gloomy Sen. Douglas, fear such "massive" cuts. They forget to calculate. It's only 5%.

Rep. Hays disclosed how they get it back: "I talked to some of the people in the Pentagon. . . . 'How do you arrive at the figures you have?' 'We just reach up into the air and take out a figure . . . and we take 20% of it and add that on . . . and we add on 25% more just to be sure that Congress does not cut us more than that, so that we will have enough in case they do." (Defense Dept. Appropriation debate, **Congressional Record**, April 9, 1952, p. 3942). **Albert Bofman**

Bring-back fund

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Good to see Belfrage's column from London in this week's GUARDIAN. Let's encourage our Editor-in-Exile and encourage the forces that will bring him back to this land. Enclosed find $2 for this work. **A. L.**

Will you second?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Will you second the **Nation's** fine idea, indicated in the enclosed excerpt of a recent letter of mine to the **Nation's** editor?

"Special commendation for your far-sighted proposal that 'what is immediately needed is agreement among interested groups on the necessity of making civil liberties a factor in the 1956 campaign.'"

A. Garcia Diaz

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SEOUL, Korea, Sept. 10—The bitterness between United States business men and South Korean tax officials reached its peak this week-end. Each side issued a statement accusing the other of resorting to Communist tactics.

N. Y. Times, Sept. 11.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: **R.** Joyce, New York.

Thomas Mann

FLUSHING, N. Y.

In the Aug. 29 GUARDIAN Mike Gold quoted something from Thomas Mann. It reminded me of this saying of Mann:

"There are times and countries when the only place for an honest man is in jail." **J. S. K.**

For more of Mann's wisdom, see Spectator, p. 11. Ed.

The same thread

BALTIMORE, MD.

The recent appeal of the Council of Greek Americans in your paper—calling for messages to the Papagos Government in behalf of the women political prisoners soon to face trial and possible death sentences before Greek military tribunals—comes at a time when similar efforts are being made through you to save Alvarado Monzon of Guatemala and our own Jacob Mindel.

The cases of the Greek and Guatemalan prisoners and of "Pop" Mindel are strikingly similar. In all these cases the victims happen to be Communists or people with Communist associations, and opponents of Wall Street and its Cold War policies. It is no secret that one of the women (Roula Koukoulou) against whom the Greek Government's latest undemocratic move is directed, is the wife of Nikos Zahariades, leader of the Greek Communist Party.

It is no secret that Alvarado Monzon is a Communist and, until the day of his arrest, was an active fighter for the restoration of the democratic rights of the Guatemalan people, which were quashed by Wall Street's late top troubleshooter, John Peurifoy. He, let it be recalled, helped frustrate democracy in Greece.

In the case of "Pop" Mindel, who because of illness and old age faces possible death in prison, it is no secret that he too is a Communist and is in jail for his opposition to the same policies that still threaten our own remaining democratic liberties.

America must not be allowed to go the way of Weimar Germany. The danger of fascism is still very great. Americans must not continue to be indifferent to what is going on around them. They must learn, as Pastor Niemoeller did, that the first line of defense for democracy is the defense of Communists, whether they be here in this country or abroad.

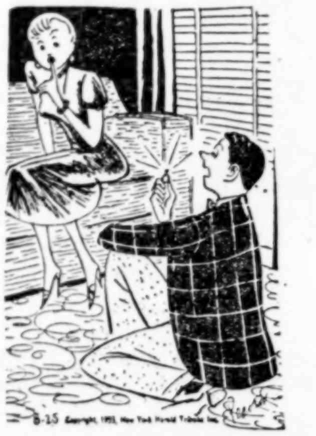
Unlike Niemoeller, who was to find this out too late, democratic-minded Americans can and must speak out. The new spirit of Geneva should mark the beginning of a great fight-back movement for the release of all imprisoned anti-fascists.

G. M.

Shipping news

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The caption under the front page picture in the Sept. 12 issue reads: ". . . What Washington told him [Shigemitsu] has not seen the light of day." What a part of the tete-a-tete was about was indicated in a fascinating, teentsy-weentsy item on the shipping news page of N. Y. **Times** of (I believe) Wed., Sept. 7. Shigemitsu, according to this story, had turned down a request by Dulles to allow the use of Japanese troops outside their own country. **M. C. R.**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N. Y. Herald Tribune

"You're not being asked to run for President, so just answer yes or no."

Flood control

PITTSBURGH, PA.

I read your story in Sept. 5 GUARDIAN regarding the possibility that flood control dams in Massachusetts and New Hampshire might have minimized the damage done by Hurricane Diane.

You note that Massachusetts and New Hampshire have opposed such dams—even though the federal government foots the bill—without explaining the reason for their opposition. I don't know their reasons. But I wonder whether opposition to flood control dams by electric utility companies is responsible?

Under present procedures, an Army Engineers' report on a proposed project always considers the possibility of hydro power. If such possibilities exist, the project when constructed incorporates penstocks [flood gates] to enable hydro development when desired. As you know, New England has no public power systems whatever. As a result, it has the highest power rates in the country.

Pittsburgh may present an analagous situaiton. Periodically, this area experienced disastrous floods, although a comprehensive plan for control had been prepared as early as 1907. Utility company pressure prevented action until 1936, when a particularly severe flood inflamed public feeling and forced projects into actual construction. A number of dams here are provided with penstocks, for hydro-power, but utility pressure has so far succeeded in blanking them off.

Studies of New England flood control projects by Army Engineers are probably available as Congressional documents.

Name withheld

For Sidney Stein —

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Civil Rights Congress is in receipt of a copy of a letter written by the wife of Sidney Stein, one of the Communist prisoners who is now confined at the Federal Detention House, West St., N. Y. The letter follows:

Mr. James V. Bennett
Bureau of Federal Prisons
Washington, D. C.

I am the wife of Sidney Stein, presently an inmate at the Federal Detention House. I am writing this letter requesting that arrangements be made to permit my husband to see his father as soon as possible.

The circumstances which cause me to make this request are, he is over 81 years of age, has a serious heart condition, is diabetic and suffers from other serious ailments and of course cannot be moved.

It is predicted that he will not survive for any length of time and since he is aware of this has expressed many times his desire to see his son once more.

I respectfully urge that the steps necessary to permit my husband to see his father before he dies be taken.

Mrs. Sophie Stein

Already while he has been in prison, Sidney Stein's mother has been buried. Mr. Stein was denied the privilege of even attending her funeral. We add our voice to that of Mrs. Stein in requesting that letters should be sent to Bennett.

William L. Patterson

Your Witness . . .

The earnest legislators on the Hill,
So devilishly keen to keep us free,
Have found the Fifth Amendment is an ill
That should not shackle our democracy.
With selfless zeal the public servants act
To smother out this odious guarantee,
And give the people what they long have lacked —
A heaven-sent new-found Immunity.

Then gather close and I will set forth all
Of my associations from my birth,
(Pre-natal leanings I do not recall
Beyond a certain yearning for the earth).
But first, one point I wish you would make clear,
Then I will give the answers so desired:
Suppose my boss decries my being here,
Have I immunity from being fired?

And if I keep my job, can you ordain
Immunity against the loss of friends
Silent at my approach? Who'll numb the pain
Of eyes, once warm, grown cold? Who'll make amends?
Give me this happy limbo and you'll see
How nicely I will play the pigeon's role;
But till you can perform such wizardry
We'll fight to keep the Fifth Amendment whole.

—Carl Fisher, New York.

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"Ask what my virtues are, not what is the color of my skin."—ARAB PROVERB.

Michiana & Pocahantas

MICHIANA IS THE NAME and hame of the newest-born GUARDIAN Committee we've heard from, and here's what they say:

> "A group of us from Northern Indiana and Western Michigan had a Labor Day pot-luck picnic at South Haven. By spontaneous suggestion and unanimous approval a GUARDIAN Committee was formed and you should soon be hearing from us on renewals and new subs.
>
> "We celebrated the return to Michigan of that great peace fighter Axel Nielsen who, with his wife and children, played gracious and hard-working hosts to our gathering.
>
> "We were short on speeches and long on food and fun. The cake raffle, horse-shoe pitching contests, card party, etc., chalked up a total contribution of $45 [plus $5 which came in later.—Ed.]
>
> "It was great meeting old friends and making new ones and, as every one agreed, there are good fresh winds blowing. You'll be hearing more from Michigan."

East of Michiana, in Detroit, Arnold Fabian (11750 Martindale, Detroit 4, Mich.) has been designated as the one to get in touch with in Detrôit's fall campaign for "(1) wider GUARDIAN readership; (2) activities that reflect the spirit of the GUARDIAN; and (3) more sparkplugs fired up to keep the GUARDIAN engine running." Says Arnold:

> "A number of us enthusiastic GUARDIAN supporters want to roll up our sleeves now and get started. We think you are all doing a marvelous job! All local readers are invited to join with us. We need help."

IT'S NICE not to have to blow your own horn, but since Detroit has sounded a fanfare, may we be permitted to add a note? Around the GUARDIAN office we are now calling the Argentine upturn "Elmer's Revolution" because in the GUARDIAN, Sept. 12, our Latin American affairs expert Elmer Bendiner called the shot well in advance on everything that has happened down there in the last few turbulent days. Elmer has now been assigned to predict when and where Hurricane J. (for **J'Accuse**) will strike.

We do hope Hurricane J. will stay out at sea along with Washington's world affairs experts, because frankly we're counting on benign fall weather to bless any number of GUARDIAN barbecues, pot-lock suppers, peanut jabs or what have you in the works for these remaining autumn weekends? We know of several affairs planned, and of some changes of plan, too. For example at Rosemead, Calif., the folks had figured on a Belfrage Fight-Back function but now they've changed it. Weather permitting, it'll be convened as a "Belfrage Come Back" party. Get in touch with the Braudes for more information.

YOU MAY HAVE NOTICED, if you've read this far, that we have avoided using the term "Indian Summer," as we did last week in discussing what inviting weather we're now having for GUARDIAN outdoor benefits. We have, in fact, been brought up short on use of the term by a note from one Pocahantas from Teepee (near Ho-Ho-Kus), N. J., who writes:

> "Medicine Man Webster says Indian Summer is same as St. Martin's Summer in England—beginning Nov. 11. You're premature, stalwart warrior. Peace."

Well, every poke is a boost, Pokey—and we here all hope that you out there won't wait for Webster's Indian Summer to fire up the barbecue pit and get cooking for **—THE GUARDIAN**

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES FROM LONDON

They want the Cadillac Curtain lowered for Paul Robeson

LONDON

"THE BRITISH WORKERS and people are anxious again to hear this great son of America."

Those words concluding a cable from Southport, England, to the White House, Washington, on Sept. 9, must have been gall and wormwood to the State Dept. The cable was a plea to Eisenhower to release Paul Robeson from behind the Cadillac Curtain in the spirit of Ike's post-Geneva suggestion that "all curtains should begin to come down." It was a sample of the windy weather over here which—as U. S. diplomats have no doubt already reported—threatens to attain gale force if Robeson is much longer denied a passport.

The cable was signed by almost 300 people at the annual Trades Union Congress meeting, 249 of whom were delegates. Five of the signers were MP's, including Weavers and Chemical Workers secys. Ernest Thornton and Robert Edwards. Five were TUC General Council members: Textile, Boilermakers and Railwaymen secys. Alfred Roberts, E. J. Hill and James Campbell, and Engineers pres. Openshaw and Mineworkers vice-pres. Ted Jones.

THE AGITATION IS BROAD: Among British workers the fight to liberate Robeson is taking on a new emphasis, as the central symbolic expression of their concern over American thought-control. In the past few weeks alone, three union bodies—the Belfast Trades & Labor Council and the Scottish and S. Wales branches of the Miners—have renewed invitations to Robeson to come and sing for them. They all consider him not merely a "great son of America" but a towering man whom workers everywhere are proud to call Comrade.

To those who have put the bars around Robeson the gall would be bitter enough if the agitation were confined to workers and socialists. But it is far broader than that. It is hard to convey to Americans long inured to their domestic cold war the complete qualitative difference between the attitudes toward Robeson of the general public over here and over there; indeed, Americans who come here can hardly believe their ears. The British man-in-the-street just plain refuses to accept the political label which Washington has tied around Robeson's neck, by means of which his name has been made almost a dirty word among great masses of Americans. British workers love Robeson because he lives and thinks for the workers and because he is a great artist. Other classes in Britain love him because he is a great artist, and—as we say here—"couldn't care less" what his politics are.

HOUSEWIFE'S CHOICE: This nation-wide affection for him is best shown by the fact that, although almost no new Robeson records have circulated here in a long time, the old ones are played over and over again on such top radio hours as the morning Housewife's Choice. Wherever there is a request program, the requests for Robeson pour in: his name is a household word, his voice recognized with a smile in every home. The special British Broadcasting Corp. programs at Easter and Christmas would not be complete without Robeson. He is the perennial gift for which Britons are grateful to America. Yet thousands of GI's stationed here—the gift for which Britons are not so grateful—hear him sing on the British radio for the first time.

PROUD TO CALL HIM COMRADE
When Robeson sang at Peekskill

Middle-class Britons otherwise disposed to look at Washington with a comparatively friendly eye couple what is being done to Robeson with what was done to Chaplin. Washington says it "would not be in the best interests of the U. S." to give Robeson a passport. These Britons protest loudly that, on the contrary, Washington by its refusal of a passport negates and sterilizes all other efforts to build Anglo-U. S. friendship. As the leading Roman Catholic weekly **Tablet** wrote (8/13):

> "We think the American government is making a wrong decision. . . . He can be an effective figure on the platform or radio, and it is tempting to stop him—but the price is too high if it prevents the Western world from pointing proudly to one of its decisive superiorities over the Communist world, that in the Western world men are free to move about, to withdraw from a community and enter another, and are not held prisoners against their will."

THE WORLD WANTS HIM: Obviously the State Dept. does not know what is in the interests even of its own distorted version of "the United States." It cannot grasp the fact that the world does not judge artists by their politics. Robeson has standing invitations to bring the magic of his art to Scandinavia, France, Israel, the U. S. S. R., China and India. In Britain he has a standing engagement—conditional on his being able to get there—to appear in a new west-end production of **Othello** under Tyrone Guthrie, perhaps this country's best play director.

I talked yesterday with Leslie Linder, the young actor-agent-director-producer from whom this offer comes. Linder is at present directing a new Philip Mackie play for Henry Sherek, **The Whole Truth,** and also producing with John Calder a made-in-Italy cinemascope feature **The Pool.** Said Linder:

> "Robeson will fill every theater in the provinces and pack them in in London—and I will take London's biggest hall for a concert, which will not be big enough. Once he was here, all you'd have to do would be to screen the TV and radio offers which would pour in, and try to fit them in with all the invitations from trade unions. It would be a long time before we could spare him to go to other countries."

Linder feels that today, especially after all he has gone through, Robeson is completely "ripe" to play Othello with stunning effectiveness. Robeson first played the part in London 25 years ago.

"NO OFFENSE": The other day I heard a man on a bus ask the conductor to let him know when they got to Oxford Circus. "I am a foreigner," he explained. "American?" said the conductor. "No, Swedish," said the man. "No offense," said the conductor.

One of the quickest and surest ways for Washington to make it "no offense" to be an American in Britain would be to lower the curtain for Paul.

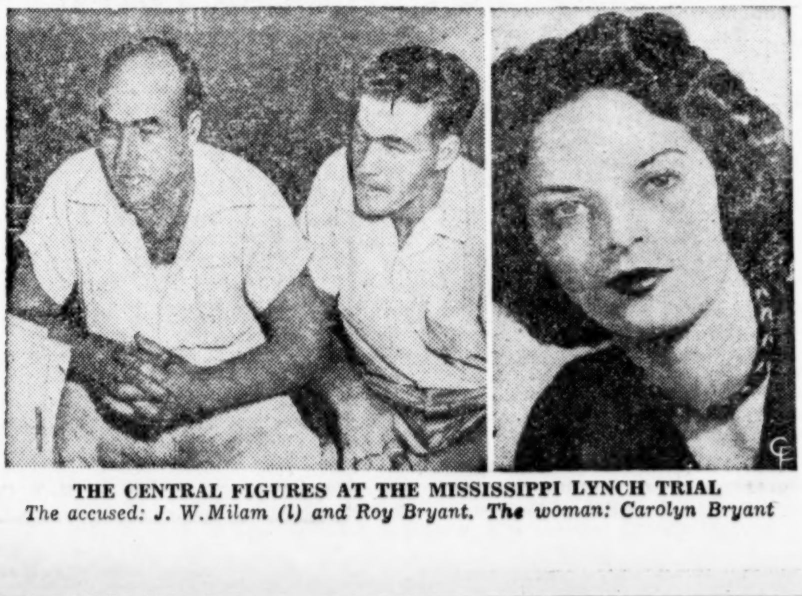
THE WORLD WATCHES SUMNER, MISS.

All-white, all-male jury tries 2 for lynching of 14-yr.-old Negro

IN SUMNER, MISS., as the GUARDIAN went to press, two white men were standing trial charged with kidnapping and murdering a 14-year-old Negro boy. Indictment had been returned by a Tallahatchie County all-white, all-male grand jury against half-brothers Roy Bryant, 24, and J. W. Milam, 35, on Sept. 6, as Emmett Louis Till's mutilated, bullet-punctured, water-logged corpse was being buried in Chicago. Bryan and Milam had admitted kidnapping—but denied killing—the boy, shortly after Sunday midnight Aug. 29, because, they said, he had whistled at Bryant's wife.

Gov. Hugh White and Atty. Gen. J. P. Coleman (the governor-elect) yielding to countrywide pressure, were pledged to prosecute. Circuit Judge Curtis Swango was presiding, with a jury that had to be all-male, all white; Mississipi law excludes women as custom excludes Negroes from jury duty. Maximum penalty for murder in Mississippi is death; minimum, life imprisonment. A 10-year prison stretch is the maximum for kidnapping.

DEFENSE "MEDDLES": The NAACP ordered legal-defense chief Thurgood Marshall to gather "all the facts" pertinent to prosecuting the accused, who have five lawyers. Gov. White has insisted that the white people do not "condone" the killing, but the "Citizens Councils," dedicated to fighting the U. S. Supreme Court order outlawing jimcrow public schools, saved its anger for the NAACP which it charged with "meddling."



THE CENTRAL FIGURES AT THE MISSISSIPPI LYNCH TRIAL
The accused: J. W. Milam (l) and Roy Bryant. The woman: Carolyn Bryant

Dr. Theodore Roosevelt Howard, president of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, speaking in the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Miss., said that in one week-end some 15 Negro motorists with Illinois license plates had been "yanked out of their cars at red-stop-lights and fined $18 apiece for reckless driving."

He called attention to the anti-NAACP notes struck by amost all Mississippi newspapers in commenting on the case, said these incidents deepened the anger of the Negro people, but he denied that any Negroes had threatened to lynch the prisoners.

FIGHTING MOOD: Expressions of outrage and fight-back mounted among Negroes across the country. Tuskegee Institute officially branded the slaying as a lynching. The mood at the Natl. Baptist convention in Memphis was such that, according to the **Afro-American** (9/17), delegates "jeered booed and hissed and completely rejected one of their national vice-presidents for joining hands" with the Citizens Councils on the desegregation issue. The paper said:

> "The rejection could not have been more complete and final if they had taken him to the gates of heaven and stripped off his wings feather by feather."

New York Councilman Earl Brown in his **Amsterdam News** (9/10) column called for "immediate and dramatic action" by Negroes, because the

> ". . . power and majesty of the U. S. government, as well as the power of both of its political parties, will not be employed to enforce the law of the land where colored citizens are concerned. . . ."

Brown proposed mass meetings in protest and a picket line around the White House demanding "at least moral support from the President."

A rally was scheduled in New York's Williams CME Church, 131st St. and 7th Av., Sun., Sept. 25, under auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. President A. Philip Randolph invited Gov. Harriman, Sens. Ives and Lehman, State Atty. Gen. Javits and Mayor Wagner. Scheduled speakers include NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins and board chairman Channing Tobias.

SHAMED WHITES: The Chicago **Defender** (9/17) reported:

> "Not since the race riots of 1917 has Chicago been so stirred up as it was last week. . . . When a white woman accidentally brushed against a Negro woman on a trolley car with her newspaper opened to the account of the finding of the body, the colored woman's immediate reaction was to deliver a walloping backhand blow. But the handful of whites simply looked at the picture of the dead boy lying face up on the floor [where the paper had fallen from the Negro woman's hand] and bowed their heads in humiliation."

The lynching stirred the CIO United Steelworkers and United Packinghouse Workers to new pledges to fight for anti-lynching legislation. A packinghouse rally launched a petition campaign urging the President to call a special session of Congress to pass anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws. But in Washington the President made no comment and the FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover disclaimed jurisdiction.

WAR & PEACE

Moscow-Bonn pact a blow at U.S. 'tough' policy

By Tabitha Petran

AS THE UN General Assembly opened its 10th session Sept. 20, Washington saw its policy of strength dealt perhaps a crippling blow by the Moscow-Bonn agreement to establish diplomatic relations; its "free world" erupting in colonial revolts, flaring national enmities and civil war; and the socialist world peace campaign "making progress in both Europe and Asia" (James Reston, N.Y. **Times**, 9/18).

With the arrival in New York of the largest and most impressive Soviet delegation (headed by Foreign Minister Molotov) ever to attend a UN session, and of leading world diplomats, the Assembly became the focus in the world-wide contest between the forces seeking a lessening of international tension and those seeking to arrest this process. On the eve of the Assembly—and little more than a month before the Big 4 Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva—these moves showed a continuing determination in Western capitals to maintain the Cold War:

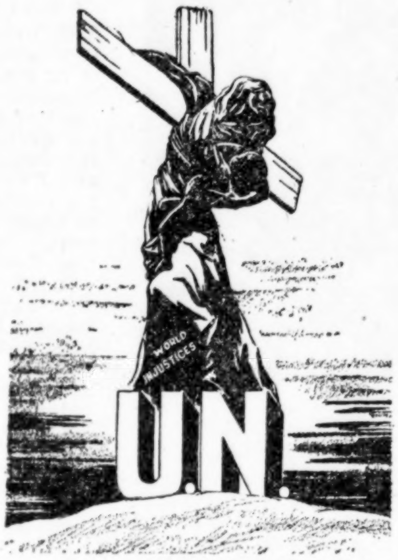
- Washington's rebuff of China's bid to discuss broad policy questions at the foreign ministers level. Capital reports suggested that the U.S., now that it has secured repatriation of its nationals, will try to make such talks conditional on new Chinese concessions. The **Wall St. Journal** (9/15) said that, in Washington's view, "nothing the Chinese have yet done . . . justifies a new look at Sino-American relations." If China does not agree to a Formosan cease-fire, renounce the use of force, account for some 500 UN soldiers still missing from the Korean war, it declared, "the matter may rest there indefinitely in stalemate." Washington's stand was clearly related to its aim of preventing not only China's UN admission but also any discussion at this session of her entry.

Escaro in Liberation, Paris

- U.S. efforts to build up this UN session, however politely, as an "acid test" of the U.S.S.R.'s good or bad intentions. This strategy was emphasized by chief delegate Henry C. Lodge Jr. in press interviews and "briefings" for Latin American and other delegations. The principal test, if the U.S. has its way, is to be Soviet acceptance of the President's "mutual inspection" scheme—which rules out disarmament, reaffirms massive retaliation and would, the **Christian Science Monitor** pointed out (9/8), give "intelligence advantages" to the West.

- Autralia's publication of a Royal Commission **Report on Soviet Espionage** which purported to describe a Soviet spy organization endangering "the security of the whole western world." Australian Labor Party Leader, Herbert Evatt, termed this report "one of the most transparent political frauds in modern history." But it won headlines and supplied the text for solemn editorials on "the Soviet menace" in the U.S. press.

AND MAYBE STRONGER: These efforts to fan the "cold war" were overshadowed, however, by some long strides taken toward easing tensions—the most notable being the Soviet-W. German agreement. "The whole concept of dealing with the Soviet Union from strength has collapsed overnight," the **NYT**'s Bonn correspondent (9/18) wrote of the agreement. To the **Wall St. Journal** (9/15) this agreement demonstrated "the incredible flexibility of Soviet foreign policy" and suggested that "the Soviet position is still not only strong but stronger than the West's." The N.Y. **Post** (9/15) warned:



Arkansas State Press

"STILL THE HOPED FOR RELIEF."

> "Let no one underestimate the impact of Russian diplomacy at this juncture. What the Soviets are once again telling the world is that the German deadlock can be resolved if the West abandons its determination to include German military units in NATO. Inside and outside Germany this argument has mounting appeal. . . . What is most disturbing . . . is the failure of a single leading American figure of either party to concede that the time for reappraisal of our German policy is at hand."

"AMATEUR APPROACH": The agreement shocked both Washington and London, which had received assurances from Bonn on the eve of the talks "that the W. Germans would not rush into an exchange of ambassadors" (**NYT,** 9/15). Chancellor Adenauer's decision was taken over the opposition of at least three key men in his delegation who "were fearful in part about the reaction of the U.S." (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 9/15). Officially, the U.S. claimed a Western "victory" and new evidence of Soviet "bankruptcy." But Reston (**NYT,** 9/16) charged U.S. diplomats with assuming all too often "the role of amateur propagandists" and said the U.S. statement

> ". . . bore almost no resemblance to the analysis . . . cabled by the U.S. embassy . . . and gave the American public a wholly inaccurate impression of what the State Dept. really felt and thought. . . ."

The Woman Question

Our annual rundown and form chart for the Debutante Sweepstakes will have to be minus an odds-on favorite for the No. 1 post. Volunteer handicappers from the stag lines admit they cannot agree on an outstanding thoroughbred, although all say they never have looked over a classier field of fillies than the 1955-56 entries.

While the college boys who count on coming-out parties for their caviar and champagne can't pick a number one candidate, they have come up with what they consider 20 outstanding entries.

The following gold-plated selections include many of America's best blood lines, sprigs from the first family trees, silk stocking dynasties and industrial clans.

Charles Ventura in the
N.Y. World Telegram & Sun's
"Debutante Preview," Sept. 13.

Adenauer went to Moscow proclaiming that the West must use its strength to force concessions from the U.S.S.R.; that he would establish relations only if Moscow agreed to a definite timetable for unification on Western terms, and released all war prisoners. In Moscow, in return for a verbal promise on the prisoners, he agreed not only to establish relations but to start the process of parliamentary ratification of the agreement within 14 days. This meant ratification could be completed before the Geneva foreign ministers' conference, a situation deplored especially by the British Foreign Office. Most significant, Adenauer

> ". . . the archpriest of the policy of strength, the inspirer of Western intransigence against concessions, the man who cautioned Washington against weakness at the Big Four Geneva Conference . . . [returned from Moscow] the author and defender of a policy he abhorred less than ten days ago" (**NYT,** 9/18).

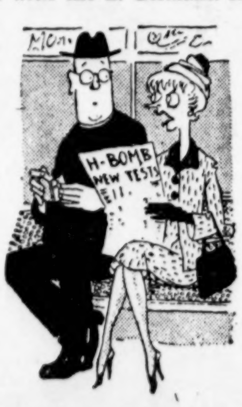
THE OLD FOX AT WORK: What lay behind this dramatic reversal? Adenauer, who had earlier preached "Soviet weakness," now explained that his decision was based primarily on "the immense power" of the U.S.S.R. and his conviction of its genuine desire for peace. He called upon the West "to take notice of this desire and with all necessary caution to create a period of peaceful settlement."

In Moscow, Adenauer suffered what American correspondents called "a startling diplomatic defeat" because the Washington-Bonn policy has consistently ignored the power realities of Europe. But, as London's **New Statesman** pointed out (9/17), what Adenauer "sacrificed in Moscow are dreams and hollow pretenses. What he has gained in return is a new freedom of maneuvre."

Facing the realities of which he has always been much more aware than his Washington partners, Adenauer made a shrewd decision which would (1) enhance his position at home; (2) greatly strengthen his bargaining position within the Western camp; (3) put him in step with the Geneva spirit, at least to the extent of accepting the existing stalemate. In this way, he has avoided, for the time being, the pitfalls of becoming the Syngman Rhee of Europe.

NO DEALS ATTEMPTED: His decision to establish relations was "widely welcomed" in W. Germany, said the **NYHT** (9/15), pointing out that "it is only professional political quarters that are concentrating their attention on the more negative aspects." Adenauer himself blandly emphasized his new position vis-a-vis his Western partners when he noted that W. Germany could now deal directly with the U.S.S.R., as well as with the West, on reunification. He said he saw "no objections" to both E. and W. Germany attending the Geneva Conference.

The U.S.S.R., however, offered Bonn no inducements for any kind of deal. Strong Soviet support for E. Germany was underlined in the talks with the W. Germans and in subsequent negotiations with the E. Germans. In Russia's opinion, said Khrushchev, E. Germany "is the future." Declaring that the U.S.S.R. considered it unrealistic to raise the question of NATO's disbanding or W. Germany's withdrawal from it, he emphasized the practicalities of establishing relations and developing trade. He also stressed Soviet belief that unity "is for the Germans themselves to decide. We are not the ones who should tell you on what terms this must be done."



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Excuse me, but why on earth did you ever give up burning scientists as witches?"

THE SOVIET VIEW: Soviet leaders rejected any arrangements directed against the West. Their aim, Khrushchev told Adenauer, is

> ". . . to safeguard world peace . . . and we propose to do this by establishing friendly relations . . . we do not want the relations to be directed against other states—Britain, France, the U.S. or any country."

The decision to give up Porkkala, the military base ceded to the U.S.S.R. in the 1944 armistice with Finland, was a further step in the increasingly active Soviet diplomacy directed at eliminating military blocs and U.S. military bases on foreign soil.

These moves, especially the agreement with W. Germany, have profound implications for the coming Geneva Conference. Adenauer's new position has cut the ground from under Washington's plans to organize a tough Western front on the German question, a toughness designed to block further progress in easing the Cold War.

The chances that the conference may represent significant progress toward this goal have been grealy enhanced. And, for Americans, new opportunities have opened to insist upon a reappraisal of Washington's self-defeating German policy.

Seeger concert in Detroit Oct. 9

THE Detroit Committee of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN is planning a second children's concert with Pete Seeger for Oct. 9 at 3 p.m. sharp at the Cass Methodist Church, corner Cass and Selden Sts., Detroit.

J. Dorsey Callaghan, music critic of the Detroit **Free Press,** said about Pete Seeger's concert last April: "There's nothing quite to compare with Pete Seeger's way with an audience . . . program a rousing one which revealed his vast resources as an entertainer."

Admission: Children 50c. Adults $1.10. For further information regarding tickets, call Arnold Fabian, WE 4-0049. All proceeds will go to the GUARDIAN.

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168 YEARS AFTER THE FACT

Senate opens rights quiz on Constitution anniversary

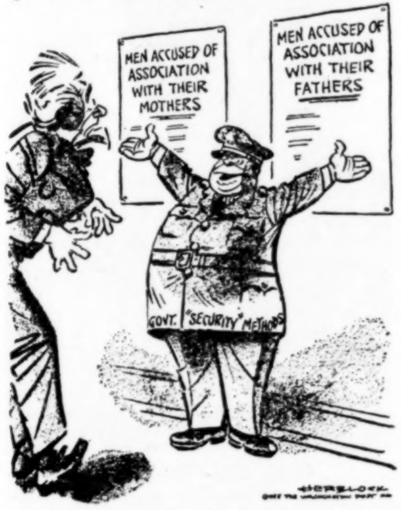
ON SEPT. 17, 1787, 39 men wound up four months of deliberation and put their signatures to the Federal Constitution. On that document's 168th anniversary last week a Senate group opened an inquiry to see how much of it was still in force and how much had become a glorified dead letter.

The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, headed by Tom Hennings (D-Mo.), launched its probe ceremonially in the old Supreme Court chamber in the Capitol, where the probers sat modestly in the first row of the section usually reserved for the public. Looking up at the day's 11 witnesses in their high-backed chairs on the dais where Congressional inquisitors usually preside, committee member Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), commented:

"We are in our proper places."

Opening the hearings Hennings said:

> "To thoughtful citizens all over the country there has appeared in recent years to be a lamentable indifference—indeed a carelessness, almost—about the individual rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States."


MEN ACCUSED OF ASSOCIATION WITH THEIR MOTHERS
MEN ACCUSED OF ASSOCIATION WITH THEIR FATHERS
GOVT. "SECURITY" METHODS
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post

"Absolutely fair and impartial"

FOCUS ON MISSISSIPPI: The 11 witnesses, chosen to represent the major fields of U.S. life (but not all views) were divided. Some were friendly, welcoming the probe, ready to testify on the points where enforcement had broken down. Others, unfriendly, seemed to treat the inquiry itself as a menace.

Roy Wilkins, exec. secy. of the NAACP, pointed to Mississippi where, he said,

> ". . . interpretations of the Bill of Rights are enforced with the pistol, the shotgun, the blackjack and, lately, through the state-wide Citizens Councils, with economic sanctions that deprive citizens of employment, credit and homes."

He cited the conspiracy there to prevent Negroes from voting, the agitation that led to two murders, and other reprisals against Negroes who signed desegregation petitions. Of 54 who signed such a petition in Yazoo City, Miss., Wilkins said, 48 had been forced to withdraw. Some had lost their jobs or been driven out of business. One had been told by his grocer that hereafter he would have to pay $1 for a loaf of bread. Wilkins summed up:

> ". . . in no area has constitutional freedom been so seriously eroded as in the area of the civil rights of the Negro."

New look in the City of the Angels

As though the heat were not bad enough in Los Angeles earlier this month, the smog made several employes of the Rapid Blueprint Co. ill. So the bosses in their benevolence took quick action and supplied the boys with gas masks, while the city fathers and the big oil men and other industrialists continued to pass the buck on a real remedy for the suffering. How do YOU feel today, angel?

SUBVERSIVE LIST SCORED: Speaking for the churches, the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, pres., Natl. Council of Churches of Christ in America, assailed the House Committee on Un-American Activities for stifling the historic "encouragement of diversity of conscientious opinion and conviction."

He questioned the Attorney General's right to set up a list of proscribed "subversive" organizations and criticized proposals to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

John Lester Buford, president of the conservative Natl. Education Assn, charged that teachers had been convicted without trial on the words of "faceless informers" and under the rule of "guilt by association."

William Schnitzler, AFL secy.-treas., called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and state "right-to-work laws." Mrs. John G. Lee, President of the League of Women Voters, found some improvement in the nation's tolerance of dissenters, but said there were some who did not accept the "need" for dissent. She said that some organizations had attacked the League for discussing the Bill of Rights in local chapters.

A CRITICAL EDITOR: Speaking for the press, J. R. Wiggins, exec. editor of the Washington **Post & Times Herald** and chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, assailed laws requiring the registering of printing equipment used by the Communist Party, criticized the Treasury Dept. ban on imported "subversive" publications and other government agencies for witholding information.

Donald R. Wilson, past natl. commander of the American Legion, and Luke E. Hart, Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus, called for more witch-hunts. Hart said "undue attention" should not be paid to those who protest "whenever a perjurer or a traitor is punished for his crime."

Unionism seemed the greatest constitutional menace to Boyd Campbell, pres. of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and John C. Lynn, director of the American Farm Bureau Fedn. John D. Randall, chairman of the House of Delegates of the American Bar Assn., said "phrasemakers" who spoke of "erosion" of our rights cast unjustified aspersions on the Government.

O'DONNELL IS UPSET: It was not a roll-call of Constitutional violations (nobody mentioned the Smith and McCarran Acts), but as a curtain raiser for a full-scale assessment of liberties it drew fire from some sources. The N. Y. Daily **News'** columnist John O'Donnell (9/14) called the committee the "'save the Constitution' bleeding hearts" and asked:

> "Who is going to take the rap for a thundering bloomer?"

In the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (9/19) David Lawrence called the hearings "propaganda" and concentrated his fire on the Rev. Blake as a "radical."

Applause for the committee came from a group of 29 Chicagoans, including prominent clergymen, unionists and attorneys, who specifically called the investigators' attention to the McCarran Act and the case of Claude Lightfoot, Chicago Communist leader, convicted under the "membership clause" of the Smith Act.

The subcommittee is scheduled to get down to work on Oct. 3 with a hearing on freedom of religious worship. On Oct. 17 the committee is to inquire into free speech under the First Amendment. Lou Hocker, subcommittee chief counsel, is known to be preparing material on the extent of "conviction by kinship" in loyalty probes.

AND WHILE THE SENATE HEARINGS ARE ON . . .

New Smith Act persecutions are launched

IN CHICAGO Claude Lightfoot, Negro Communist leader convicted under the "membership" provision of the Smith Act, appealed to the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals to reverse a lower court decision and declare the "membership" provision unconstitutional.

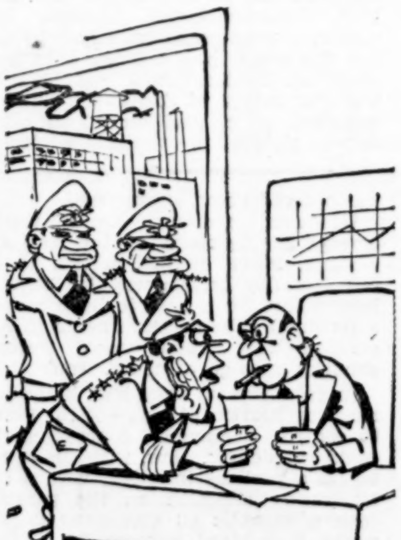
Meanwhile FBI agents made two more "membership" arrests, bringing the total in the country to six. In addition to Lightfoot, Junius Scales of N. Carolina has been convicted and sentenced to six years in prison. His case is also being appealed.

TWO IN NEW YORK: The new arrests were both in New York. John Noto of Buffalo was "surrounded" by a dozen FBI agents as he drove with his wife, child and mother-in-law during the Labor Day weekend. Max M. Weiss, formerly of Chicago, was arrested Sept. 19 in New York City, where he had been living with his wife and daughter since 1951. Both men were arrested under sealed indictments issued secretly in 1954. In each case the FBI planted newspaper stories that the men had gone underground and were eluding capture when arrested. Asked Mrs. Noto:

> "Is there any law prohibiting Americans from moving in and out of Buffalo without permission of the FBI?"

BACHRACH APPEAL: In New York an appeal signed by 180 prominent Americans asked severance of the Smith Act conspiracy case against cancer victim Marion Bachrach. Among those signing were Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Prof. Walter Pritchard Eaton, Rabbi Louis Gross, George S. Kaufman, Robert W. Kenny, Dr. Otto Nathan, Arthur Upham Pope, Lyman Beecher Stowe and Rev. David Rhys Williams.

Miss Bachrach, whose case was severed from the second Foley Square trial of Communist leaders in 1951, is scheduled to go on trial Sept. 26 with Sidney Stein, already serving a sentence for "harboring" fugitive Communist leader Robert Thompson; Dr. Alexander Trachtenberg and George Blake Charney, whose previous convictions were reversed because of the recantations of professional perjurer Harvey Matusow.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"This is one of those hush-hush jobs. . . . The only thing you're allowed to know is how much profit you get."

ALLAN IN DETROIT: In Detroit the government scheduled denaturalization hearings against William Allan, writer for the Michigan **Worker**, already convicted of conspiracy under the Smith Act. In moving against Allan's citizenship, the government sought to upset the Schneiderman decision of 1943, in which the Supreme Court upheld the right of William Schneiderman, Calif. Communist leader, to retain his citizenship papers. Wendell Willkie argued the case for Schneiderman, who has since been convicted of conspiracy under the Smith Act.

CALIFORNIA APPEAL: In California the vice-president of the state bar, Augustin Donovan, filed a Supreme Court appeal of the convictions of two California Communist journalists, Philip M. Connelly and Al Richmond. Donovan accepted the cases without compensation to implement resolutions of the American and California Bar Assns. deploring unjust criticism of lawyers for representing "defendants in Smith Act or similarly unpopular causes."

Donovan in a public statement accompanying the filing of the appeal stressed the fact that he is "a member of a family with centuries of uninterrupted Catholic faith."

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IS A NEW ARGENTINA IN THE MAKING?

Brazil on the eve of its critical election

By Elmer Bendiner

LYRIC WRITERS for the cafe singers of Rio de Janeiro last week were trying to find new rhymes for *pronunciamento* (proclamation of emergency) and *golpe* (putsch). The menace was plain; it was on everybody's lips. Some feared it and some laughed at it.

Brazil was on the eve of its most significant election in decades. On Oct. 3 the voters would go to the polls—with a gun at their heads. For months the prospect of a military coup has hung over the largest, richest nation in Latin America. On Aug. 5 armed forces chief of staff Gen. Canrobert Pereira da Costa said the military would "not fail in its duty" to assure that "illegal elements" would not use "legal pretexts" for returning to power. In the Chamber of Deputies Carlos Lacerda defended the principle of the putsch:

> "The majority here are the beneficiaries of the coup of 1937, the minority are beneficiaries of the golpe of 1945. What we call legality today is only a succession of putsches interrupted to maintain an appearance of legality."

WHO ARE THEY? He advocated postponing the election for three years and installing an "emergency regime." Lacerda is an old hand at the putsch. After months of attacking the late President Vargas, Lacerda was nicked by an assassin's bullet; a companion was killed. The affair was whipped into a sensation and made the pretext for a military coup in Aug., 1954, which drove Vargas to suicide and made Lacerda a deputy.

The forces which now threaten a coup are much the same as those which closed in on Vargas and put in his place the amenable reactionary Joao Cafe Jr. Getulio Vargas, always a demagogue, had been in some years a bloody dictator and in others a "man of the people." In the latter years of his life, seeing the nation plunging into economic chaos, Vargas saw no other political course but to take a stand for national independence, though he sought always to compromise.

He tried to stem foreign encroachments in oil by forming the public agency Petrobras and in the electrical field by Electrobras. His administration doubled wages in a futile effort to keep pace with prices and in response to nationwide strikes, demonstrations and riots.

THE CENTRAL ISSUE: Like Peron in Argentina Vargas found himself at the head of a nation driving for independence faster than he himself would go. The mood of Brazil a few days before Vargas's death was summed up by Gen. Newton Estillac Leal, former war minister and at the time military commander in Sao Paulo:

> "We want industrialization based on our own raw materials. We want an internal market for our products. We want to make our own armaments and produce our own electrical energy. We have confidence in the ability of our technicians and our workers."

JUSCELINO KUBITSCHEK
No truck with the coup-ists

Before shooting himself Vargas wrote that he was dying in the fight against "domination and looting by international groups." That fight is the central issue in this October's fateful election.

Vargas left not only a rallying cry but a formidable—if corrupt—political machine. Leaders of the Labor Party (which Vargas organized) threw their support early in the current campaign to Juscelino Kubitschek, former governor of the rich diamond-mining state of Minas Geraes and candidate of the country's largest party, the Social Democrats. Kubitschek had not distinguished himself as a fighter for national independence. Only last spring he assured foreign interests that he would cut them in on Brazilian oil resources "with Petrobras, without Petrobras or in no matter what form" it had to be done.

"JANGO" GOULART: The Communist Party (illegal but powerful, with newspapers throughout the country, a growing prestige and a national hero for its leader, Luis Carlos Prestes) appealed to the Vargas forces to pick another candidate so that a united front could be formed.

The "Getulista" politicians stuck to Kubitschek but their candidate took several reassuring steps. He vowed to have no dealings with the military men who prop up the present administration and to fight against any coup or "pronunciamento" suspending the elections. When right-wingers asked him to step down in favor of a "national union" ticket he refused. To demonstrate his new-found loyalty to the cause of independence, Kubitschek picked as his running mate Joao (Jango) Goulart, prime hate of the generals and the pro-U. S. forces. The left was plainly negotiating from strength.

As Vargas' minister of labor Goulart had engineered last year's wage rise which was the last straw for the businessmen, plantation owners and U. S. salesmen. Taking a leaf from Peron's book, Goulart had sought to give Vargas a base within the trade union movement and in the process yielded to labor's most insistent demands. With "Jango" on the ticket a deal with the military seemed remote.

PRESTES' MANIFESTO: In August Communist leaders reportedly met with the Kubitschek forces and threw their support to him. In a manifesto Prestes said:

> "Let us unite to prevent a fascist military dictatorship in our country. . . . The victory of Kubitschek and Goulart will be a defeat for the generals of the golpe, will give new impetus to the democratic and patriotic forces and may work significant changes in the relationship of forces, favorable to democracy, peace, independence and progress in Brazil."

Prestes had in mind a rallying of every force—from the working-class to the local industrialists who stood for independence.

The Communist Party, because it is illegal, may not be able to offer its fullest support, but a new and broadly based working-class grouping called the Natl. Popular Workers Movement was organized during the campaign and is stumping vigorously for the Kubitschek ticket. Kubitschek has spoken at rallies of the Movement, accepted its platform and has never repudiated the Communists' support.

WHO IS TAVORA? With the entry of Goulart the generals declared war on Kubitschek, threw all their support to Gen. Juarez Tavora, Natl. Democratic Union candidate and one of the prime movers in the coup that drove Vargas to his death. Tavora is generally regarded as the candidate not only of the military but of the upper echelons of the Catholic Church. Two small parties also back him: the Christian Democrats and the loosely-named Socialist Party.

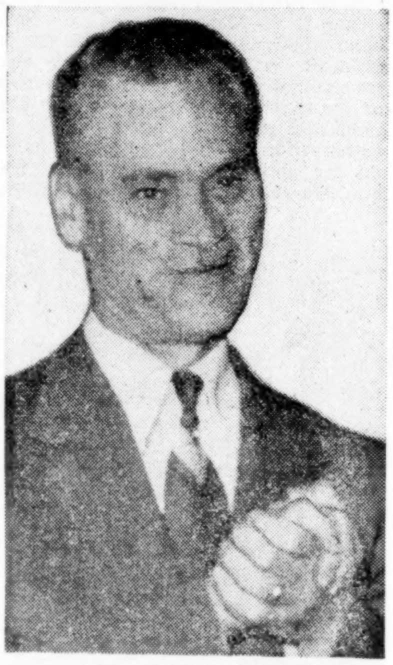
Tavora has little popular support and, as a renegade from the left, is suspected by some right-wingers. For example, the governor of Goias commented acidly:

> "Tavora, ah yes, we know him well. . . . He passed by our way with Prestes."

A chilly personality, he relies for campaigning on Janio Quadros, governor of the state of Sao Paulo, a pushing politician favored by pro-U. S. and high Catholic forces. Quadros lost whatever prestige he once had by using the army to break the longshore strike at Santos. Until last May he was also mayor of Sao Paulo but was defeated by a coalition of left-wing forces similar to that now facing Tavora.

THE ROLE OF U. S.: Two other candidates are running: Adhemar de Barros of the Social Progressive Party, a spell-binding politician who may whittle away some of Kubitschek's support; and Plinio Salgado, an avowed fascist who is expected to cut into Tavora's vote.

United States stakes in forestalling a regime of national independence are enormous. During and since World War II U. S. capital invaded Brazil, pushed out the British and now controls 82% of Brazil's oil, 78% of its auto assembly lines, 86% of its rubber, all its gas utilities and 87% of its electrical output. U. S. investments in Brazil soared from $588,000,000 in 1949 to $1,193,000,000 in 1953. Brazil sends 42% of its exports to U. S., gets 58% of its imports from U. S.



GEN. JUAREZ TAVORA
The personality is an icicle

IF KUBITSCHEK WINS: The stake of Brazilians in independence is similarly great. The cost of living has leaped more than 618% since 1939; 5% of the population get half the national income. Some 10,000,000 farmers are landless, working under feudal conditions for 12 hours a day on coffee, sugar and rice plantations. There is starvation in one of the hemisphere's richest countries.

On the eve of the elections the left ticket of Kubitschek is an odds-on favorite. But army and navy men have been busily conferring with President Cafe and parliamentary leaders. The fireworks have been put off by the general alarm that has sounded in the country; but if Kubitschek wins on Oct. 3, he might have to fight his way into the palace with bullets.

Prestes has warned the people to learn "to take to the streets to defend their rights and their democratic conquests."

Argentina story

(Continued from Page 1)

CALL TO WORKERS: The capital, itself, where Peron's largest working-class strength lay, was never mobilized. Anti-aircraft batteries were set up in the Plaza de Mayo but citizens were reported watching "soldiers manipulate their guns for the benefit of sightseers."

Nothing was heard from Argentina's workers until Sunday night, Sept. 18, when, not Peron, but CGT secy.-gen. Hugo de Prieto called on the workers to give "our lives for Peron." The labor leader, a Peron lieutenant, spoke for the first time of "great foreign help" allegedly given the rebels. He called for "strikes, work stoppages, destruction of machinery, sabotage . . . if necessary."

Blue-overalled workers were then reported entering the city, armed with rifles against the rebels' jet planes, naval fleets and heavy artillery. By then it was too late, in any case. A rebel fleet lay at anchor in the Rio de la Plata and threatened to shell the capital. Peron's government called Buenos Aires an "open city" and appealed to the rebels to hold their fire. On Monday morning Peron asked for a parley with the rebels. They said they would talk only if Peron resigned.

OFF TO THE ALPS? Peron then "insisted" on resigning but said he would leave the decision up to the Army. He said:

> "I am convinced that the people and the army will crush the uprising but, then, that would be too bloody and harmful to the country's permanent interests."

A parley was arranged aboard a rebel warship and after a cease-fire was ordered Peron disappeared.

Whatever military junta might emerge as the rulers of the new Argentina, Peron seemed certain to be out (possibly on his way to Switzerland where he is said to have cachéd a fortune.) The question again in Argentina was: where would Peron's shirtless ones go without Peron?

In recent years they had become a runaway movement, too hot for Peron to control, demanding concessions he could not deliver. Now, with the country in a perilous inflation, with a deteriorating situation on the pampas, with a gigantic oil give-away in the works, they stood, without Peron, face to face with the military and foreigners seeking a "congenial climate for investment." The **Wall Street Journal** estimated U. S. investments at $425,000,000.

"DAY OF GREATNESS": On the morning after Peron's resignation the **N. Y. Times** (9/20) quoted Administration officials as saying that the U. S. "would undoubtedly recognize" the new government, though it was as yet unformed. Celebrating the event in an editorial called "A Day of Greatness," the **Times** said: "There can only be a military junta after an experience of this sort. . . ."

In Buenos Aires the CGT building was closed. The victorious rebels broadcast a report that labor was planning a general strike, but whether this was accurate, or a provocation, or a bad case of the jitters, was still unknown. One thing was clear: the generals had conquered Peron easily. They still have the Peronistas to reckon with.

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In Rumania you simply must miss your train

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the GUARDIAN

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

I KNOW it's a little late, but I must share this experience with you and offer a bit of travel advice: In Rumania you must miss your train! I did.

I was on my way to Warsaw. Some kind friends had arranged for me to go along with a youth group travelling to the World Youth Festival. It was the cheapest way to travel, but they did not tell me it was the slowest.

It wasn't only that we started out from Lydda some eight hours after schedule, or that we wound our way through Turkey, dry and parched, the land neglected and eroded. It wasn't only that all through Bulgaria and Rumania—where we were received with music and flowers and salami and beer—we seemed to travel about in circles, or the soot and the grime and the lack of washing facilities.

THAT AWFUL FEELING: It was—as I discovered to my sorrow—that I was no longer "youth," and there are certain basic comforts one finds it difficult to do without the other side of 35. So after 72 hours I felt good and sick as we pulled into Orosul Stalin (Kronstadt). I thought that unless I got off the train for a few minutes I'd die. So I carefully inquired how long the train would stop. Fifteen minutes, I was told; I went for a walk. To be safe, I returned to the platform after 10 minutes. There was no train.

"Warsaw?" a railway employe stared at me in amazement. "Warsaw has gone." I didn't believe it. But before I had time to think, I was led out of the station and into a car by a young woman and a young man who seemed to have appeared out of nowhere. Don't worry, they told me.

NEXT STOP CLUJ: Three minutes later I found myself in the office of the secretary of the Rumanian youth movement's Orosul Stalin section. There sat a young man named Andreas Hientz, who must be one of the most handsome young men in all of Rumania. He said in perfect German:

> "There is a plane leaving in half an hour. We will book you on it and you will meet your train at Cluj. I shall be happy to accompany you."

It was a 180-mile trip. In five minutes my plane had been booked. I looked at my watch. It was 4:05 p.m., only 15 minutes since I had been on the station platform. It seemed unbelievable but no less unbelievable than I myself must have appeared to everyone. For here I was, dirty, clad in slacks, a sleeveless black sweater, a pair of Italian slippers and—incongruously—a pearl necklace.

Nobody, I thought, had asked for my documents. I asked whether they wouldn't like to see them. "Only your name," Andreas replied, "but there's time for that; we only need that to have the plane ticket made out." And off we were to the airport.

The plane was due any minute, but they had not been able to find a seat for Andreas. After some telephoning, he told me Bucharest had just offered to put a special plane at my disposal. "How does Bucharest know?" I asked. Andreas said:

> "We phoned them, in case anyone in the group with which you are travelling should be inquiring. Now Bucharest has informed your group of your whereabouts, and informed Cluj to expect you, and when they heard we could find no second seat for me to accompany you, they phoned back to say they'd send us a special plane."

I had a chance to watch the passengers for the regular afternoon plane to Cluj. They were ordinary men and women, many with a briefcase as their only luggage. They were minor officials, peasants and small merchants—private trade was on the upswing, Andreas said. Soon they piled into the two-engine 21-passenger plane with a nonchalance with which their grandfathers might have climbed into a post-coach.

ONCE FOR KINGS, NOW FOR THE PEOPLE
A Rumanian palace is now an art museum

UNSCHEDULED FLIGHT: Inland air transport, which had never been known to exist in pre-war Rumania, has become a popular means of transportation at popular prices. Every provincial town in Rumania today has twice daily air service.

Soon our special plane landed and we took off. We flew over lovely countryside, fields neatly cultivated, hilly slopes dotted with red-roofed houses and small, slim church spires.

We landed once near a rural market town—airfields everywhere were plain meadow without concrete run-ways—and took on some passengers and crates of fresh fruit and flowers for Cluj. How could this be on a special flight, I asked. Andreas said that whenever an additional plane was put on, they telephoned up and down the line in case any airport along the route wished to use the flight.

THE NEW SCHOOLS: Andreas turned out to be a science teacher who had spent most of his schooldays under the old regime. He was pleased with all that had been done, especially in the field of free and universal rural education. However, he said, much remained to be done. "What's the biggest achievement in education, to your mind?" I asked. His answer came back like a shot:

> "The abolition of corporal punishment. We used to be beaten to a pulp for a mere nothing, or less than a nothing. A kid was caned often not because he was stupid or lazy but because his father did not have the wherewithal to send the teacher his monthly few dozen eggs, or a pig's head or a calf's foot. And the teachers really needed these 'gifts'; they were so underpaid."
>
> "What does a teacher earn today?"
>
> "Same as the average worker's pay."

We came down at Cluj, where some of Andreas' comrades were already waiting for us with a car. It was 7 p.m. and my "express" was not due till 10:40 . We drove through the beautiful old town.

A HOT BATH: Andreas wanted to know what I might most wish to see or do. First, I said, I'd like a wash. I was taken to what looked like an apartment hotel and was in fact a block of service flats which is jointly owned by the Communist Party and the Youth Movement, for guests from other cities or from abroad. I was given a room and private bath. Never in my life have I enjoyed a hot bath so much.

We went to a popular restaurant which filled up rapidly. Food was plentiful and we drank a sparkling dry white wine, and talked—five or six of us—as if we had known each other all our lives. And the orchestra played Russian songs and **Limelight** and **La Vie en Rose.**

ONE SURE THING: It was time to leave for the station. The train pulled in. "Shall we miss it again," Andreas winked at me, "then we'll chase them to the frontier—or straight to Warsaw on another plane?" I shook my head. "I need a change of clothes," I laughed, "if nothing else." The girls kissed me good-bye. Andreas hugged me. "Come back," he said, "we'll look after you."

"Bless you," I said, "I couldn't be surer of anything. After all, in Rumania, all I need to do is to miss the train."

THE TEST COMES THIS FALL

Result of Britain's TUC meeting: hollow victory for right wing

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the GUARDIAN

SOUTHPORT, ENGLAND

SUMMING UP last week's Trades Union Congress conference, the fact that emerged most sharply was that the right-wing leadership was on the defensive from beginning to end. They obtained majorities for new powers to deal with strikes, but the whole conference knew the minority was so powerful that the resolution meant nothing. If the leaders try to discipline unions pressing wage demands, they will split the trade union movement. All they can hope to do with their new power—to intervene before negotiations reach deadlock—is to join with the government and the employers in swinging public opinion against a strike; but that is a dangerous game for trade union leaders to play.

The same applies to the resolutions on wages. The leaders were determined not to accept a resolution from the militant electrical union backing all unions in their fight for better conditions; but the resolution from the retail store employes union said almost the same thing in rather less militant terms and the leaders had to accept it.

TROUBLE AHEAD: When Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler announces his economy measures and the employers affirm their determination to resist all wage demands—and both will come this autumn—the TUC leaders will not be saved from their dilemma. They will have to come out openly behind the government or lead the unions into battle.

In the debate on automation, F. Hayward of the ultra-right-wing General and Municipal Workers Union rejected national ownership in favor of joint consultations with the capitalist employers. The conference gave him a majority of 1,000,000 in a total vote of 8,000,000 but it will be much more difficult to impose this policy on the Labour Party. The vast majority of the local parties are demanding socialist measures and will never accept the Southport policies. It is an empty victory for it leaves the TUC leaders as generals without an army.

Significantly, the biggest ovation was for Arthur Horner, secretary of the Miners Union and a prominent Communist, who moved the miners resolution on trade union unity and who replied with devastating logic to the anti-Soviet tirades of TUC Gen. Secy. Sir Vincent Tewson and others. Horner has had to sit in silence for year after year while his union supported cold war policies, but this year the miners returned to their traditional support for international unity.

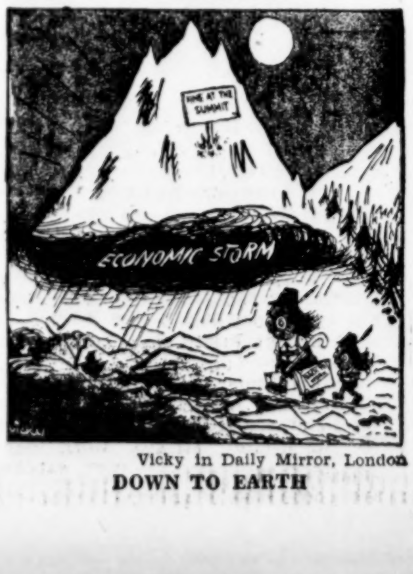
AND NEXT YEAR? Again, the leadership won. The vote was 4,400,000 to 3,400,000. Of the majority vote over 2,000,000 came from the two general workers unions and 400,000 from the retail store employes. Certainly none of these organizations had consulted their members before voting.

The significance of the miners' change of policy cannot be overestimated, for the leaders have relied for 10 years on the two general workers unions and the miners to impose support for the cold war. By next year the miners' lead may well be accepted.

The miners in fact may have moved too suddenly. The idea of rebuilding trade union unity between East and West marks so big a change of attitude that the rank and file has not yet caught up. The speakers from the AFL and the Intl. Confedn. of Free Trade Unions made the usual anti-Soviet speeches; in contrast to Horner they were received in cold silence.

NO DEBATE: How far the TUC leaderes have been forced along the road was shown by their calling for next business after the motion calling for talks with the Soviet trade unions. Next business is a device to call off a debate. The leaders ran away from the discussion because they feared an adverse vote.

Significant, too, was the unanimous vote to abolish atomic weapons and bar tests. Originally the General Council was going to oppose this resolution, but it did not dare. There was another unanimous vote for a cut in the period of conscription.



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London
DOWN TO EARTH

Internal Security Act

(Continued from Page 1)

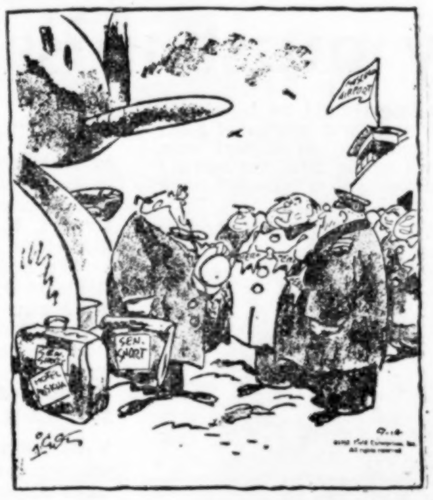
upholding an April, 1953, order of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the CP must register as a subversive organization. Judge David L. Bazelon, dissenting from the Appeal Court's decision, said the Act violated the Fifth Amendment.

Based on its citation of the CP as a subversive organization, the SACB has since demanded that 14 other organizations register as "Communist front" or "Communist-infiltrated." Under the enabling McCarran Act, any organization advancing ideas or issues also advanced by the CP may be ordered to register with the SACB. I. F. Stone, in his (9/19) **Weekly** terms this "guilt by parallelism" and continues:

> "If a majority [of the Court] finds the Act unconstitutional and throws out the registration order, it will add a mighty push to the tide now carrying this country back toward its traditional freedoms. We believe the Court will do so."

MARCANTONIO'S FIGHT: In the SACB hearings leading to the registration order, the CP was represented by the Hon. Vito Marcantonio in association with John B. Abt, general counsel of the Progressive Party. Marcantonio died while the original appeal was before the Washington Circuit Court of Appeals.

The appeal to the Supreme Court states that:



Washington Post

"I have made countless speeches on Communism, gentlemen! . . . Needless to say, I enjoyed this opportunity to find out what I've been talking about!"

> "The impact of the Act as a whole upon American liberties is greater than its separate invasion of constitutional rights. In the totality of its provisions, the Act has no legislative counterpart in our history.
>
> "Ostensibly its target is the Communist Party and the system of political thought which it represents. But Communists are only the first victims. The Act authorizes the proscription of every organization which does not conform to authoritarian standards of political orthodoxy, and the punishment of its members as heretics. Its terms and the principles which it establishes deny the protection of the First Amendment to all Americans and impose a system of thought control upon the whole people. . . .
>
> "A decision sustaining the Act and the order of the Board would sacrifice our heritage of freedom and irretrievably handicap the nation in the 'contest for the hearts and minds of men.'"

"VESTED INTEREST": The appeal brief also contends that the Act "coerces self-incrimination" in violation of the Fifth Amendment by forcing individuals and organizations to register as members of "subversive" organizations; and that it violates due process, also guaranteed under the Fifth Amendment, in setting up an SACB which is necessarily biased. Unless the SACB finds the CP guilty under the Act it cannot proceed against other organizations. Thus the Board has a "vested interest" in reaching an adverse finding since otherwise it would have destroyed its own reason for continuing existence. The Act revives "the despotic principle of legislative determination of guilt" and "employs police state techniques to achieve its police state objective," the brief argues.

Two Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, the late Charles Evans Hughes and the present Chief Justice Earl Warren, are quoted in support of the brief's arguments for free discussion. Stressing the "dragnet" character of the Act, the brief declares:

> "The Act imposes an unparalleled regimentation of speech, press and assembly. It establishes a pervasive censorship over all dissenting expression. It suppresses voluntary association and collective action for constitutionally protected objectives.
>
> "It outlaws organizations for peaceful political opposition. It denies individuals their livelihood and otherwise punishes them for innocent association. It prohibits foreign travel and penalizes communication abroad for lawful purposes. In the name of anti-Communism, it is an enabling act for a totalitarian state."

COMPULSORY CREED: The **amici** brief submitted by the 360 "friends of the court" is primarily concerned with the Act's impact on the rights of non-Communists. This impact, the brief points out, threatens to "preserve and institutionalize" a tendency to suppress "the disfavored side" in public discussion and convert the other into a "compulsory creed."

The brief challenges the Act under the First Amendment and states that it bestows authority beyond Congressional power to repress ideas and organizations; that it authorizes ideological trials and "penalizes beliefs, opinions and attitudes not evidenced by overt acts"; that no "clear and present danger" exists to warrant invasion of rights protected by the First Amendment.

Digests of the **amici** brief, suitable for publication in paid advertisements in local newspapers, may be obtained from Olive O. Van Horn, P.O. Box 1217, Grand Central Sta., N. Y. C. 17.

Delany story

(Continued from Page 1)

"not believe" he would yield to "clandestine pressures and discard Judge Delany." When he reached into the association's own top ranks for Delany's successor, NAACP reaction was immediate. It joined other groups to wire the Mayor:

> "We are deeply disturbed and seriously concerned at your failure to reappoint Hubert T. Delany, a seasoned and outstanding judge, as Justice of the Domestic Relations Court because of alleged 'left-wing views.' We are concerned not only because of our high regard for Judge Delany as an individual, but because you as Mayor have made such a crucial decision affecting the lives of all our city's children while refusing even to discuss the matter with organizations such as ourselves who have a legitimate interest in it."

JUSTICE POLIER CRITICAL: The fact that the Mayor did not first submit to the N. Y. C. Bar Assn. the name of the man chosen to succeed Delany—a usual procedure—indicated a last-minute choice. Dudley a Democrat, was appointed by President Truman in 1949 as U. S. Ambassador to Liberia. He had previously been assistant special counsel to the NAACP and counsel to the governor of the Virgin Islands.

JUDGE DELANY

The insult was not to him alone

Reappointment of Justice Justine Wise Polier had also been in doubt up to the moment her second term expired Sept. 12. Both she and Delany had been appointed by Mayor LaGuardia. But Justine Polier—also widely supported by civic groups—was renamed. In a pointed and courageous acceptance speech, she said she accepted

> ". . . the responsibility in a spirit of joy and sorrow—in sorrow that the colleague I loved and respected will not be at my side, a colleague who sought the same objectives that I did."

THE REASONS: Despite the flood of criticism, Mayor Wagner declined throughout the week to elaborate on his reasons for refusing to rename Delany. Underlying reasons, however, seemed to be pressure from (1) those elements in the Wagner administration and the press who disliked Delany's advanced and humane judicial decisions; (2) those who saw political advantage in going into top-level NAACP ranks to choose a Democrat. Among these the name of Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack was mentioned.

In September, 1954, a furore was created in the press when Delany released a 14-year-old who had admitted firing a "zip-gun" and hitting an automobile. The judge told the boy he was being freed because "you told the truth and you didn't lie." He impressed on the child the seriousness of the offense and got a pledge from him "never to do anything like that again."

HE FOUGHT BACK: Delany was thereupon attacked by the N. Y. **World-Telegram & Sun.** He called a press conference attended by his five court associates, NAACP exec. secy. Walter White, and heads of welfare organizations. He denounced the newspaper and its

> ". . . willful misrepresentation of facts, a furthering of hysteria against the social treatment of children and the intentional subjection of this Court to misunderstanding and loss of public confidence."

The invited group set up a continuations committee to confer with newspaper publishers.

Delany's membership in the National Lawyers Guild was prominently mentioned in newspaper accounts of his activities. He was reelected in 1953 as vice-president of the N. Y. C. Chapter of the Guild.

A year ago the Church Club of New York (Episcopal) received a barrage of unfavorable publicity when it refused to admit Delany to membership. No reason was ever given.

A QUESTION TO MAYOR WAGNER:

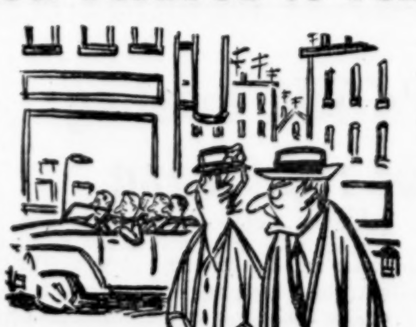
Is this why you refused to rename Delany?

On Sept. 8 Judge Delany, in an address before a meeting called by the Temporary State Commission on Youth and Delinquency, seemed to give his credo both as a jurist and a citizen. Following are excerpts from that speech. The reader must draw his own conclusions as to whether these were the "positions" with which Mayor Wagner disagreed—since the Mayor himself won't say.

WE WILL CONTINUE to be confronted with this problem [juvenile delinquency] until we analyze the causes . . . intelligently and with reason as opposed to showing hatred for our children who are in trouble. . . . We cannot, however eager we may be to do so, overlook the fact that juvenile delinquency springs from neglect and rejection and that children, no matter of what race, creed color or national origin, who live on the other side of the tracks and who, with their parents, do not have the adequate necessities of life, or who may be looked at askance by their more fortunate elders, whether their elders be judges, teachers or workers in the field of social service: such children will rebel against a society of which they do not feel themselves a part.

* * *

I WOULD NOT be true to myself if I did not say that one of the reasons why children rebel, not only against their parents but against society, is that we are living in a world where our adult society places an undue premium on greed, wealth and power, whether it be ill-gotten or benevolent. Our children see examples day after day of ethics and morals thrown overboard by respected men in every walk of our daily life. The idea seems to be to get ahead, to seek security for ourselves alone, without caring about or being concerned with the security and happiness of our fellowmen. . . . We can fool ourselves on the ethics and morals of this attitude on the part of too many of our elders; we cannot fool our children. They see us for what we are.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Why is it that, no matter how innocent they may be, five youths in a car look delinquent?"

* * *

IF I MYSELF were a prudent man, I probably would not say the things I am now saying. But it has never been my ambition to be a prudent man. It has been for all my life my desire to be an honest man, allowing, of course, for human frailties, and to try so to live that I would earn and deserve the respect of my family, my friends, my fellowman.

* * *

I HAVE, by reason of the mores of our time and of times past, identified myself with the minority into which I was born as well as with the ideals of American democracy, and with all other Americans who really believe in democracy as a way of life for all the American people. My identification with race has not been by choice alone, but also by compulsion. I still live in a ghetto along with the Negro and Puerto Rican minorities after 37 years as a resident of the greatest city on earth and after 32 years in the public service.

* * *

LET US NOT . . . pursue too slowly the remedies to these evils . . . by surveys and political expediences. . . . Let us progress as rapidly as possible toward the ideals of American democracy and full justice and equality for all . . . including our disturbed and frustrated children, who show by their delinquent acts that they are rebelling . . . against a society of which they do not feel themselves a part.

LABOR

Dock union wins new help by its show of strength

SOME 5,000 LONGSHOREMEN rose to their feet in New York's St. Nicholas Arena last week and shouted "Victory" in thunderous approval of a settlement of the eight-day waterfront tieup.

The ovation was greater than the results seemed to warrant. The Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. had struck in a desperate effort to break out of the stranglehold of the N. Y.-N. J. Waterfront Commission. Their only demand was a fair hearing. They appealed to Govs. Harriman of N. Y. and Meyner of N. J. and were turned down. They accepted a chance to appear before a committee of the N. Y. Legislature only to have Albany renege.

They extended the walk-out up and down the East Coast to make it a national issue so that they could ask Congress or the President to intervene and give them a chance to tell the nation the story of how the commission was union-busting in the port. In the end the only one to offer a forum was N. J. State Sen. James F. Murray of Hudson County; he proposed a citizens' committee to hear all sides and make recommendations.

HOT POTATO: ILA leaders rushed to accept Murray's proposal before it also collapsed. They barely made it. It was weak to begin with, had no power, could only make recommendations to Harriman and Meyner and to the Commission. All three swiftly announced they wouldn't be listening.

Nor was the committee's make-up promising: James McAllister, head of a towboat company; Hudson County Assemblyman Maurice Brady (D); State Sen. Mark Anton (R-Essex); Godfrey Schmidt of Fordham Law School, president of the blacklisting organization, AWARE, Inc.

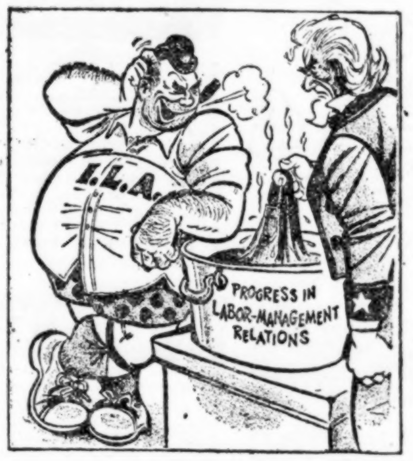
Within 25 hours Brady, under fire from fellow Democrats, resigned. Told of Anton's membership N. J. Republican chairman Samuel L. Bodine said "Oh, my gosh! Not really?" Shortly afterwards Anton withdrew.

WHAT STRIKE SHOWED: The strike was a convincing demonstration of ILA's strength among the longshoremen. The men clearly wanted the ILA and were willing to fight for its survival almost alone against the governments of two states, the courts and a viciously hostile press. Its leaders risked trial and crippling damage suits to make the ILA's plight and the commission's menace a national issue.

The strike also exposed the bi-partisan conspiracy behind the commission. The N. Y. **Times'** A. H. Raskin reported (9/14) that in New York

> ". . . top ranking Democrats and Republicans had exchanged a secret pledge that neither party would undercut the commission. . . ."

THE PRESS "TREATMENT"



The Atlanta Constitution

"Wonder who threw the overalls in the chowder?"

SELF-HELP WAS THE RULE
When N. Y. docks were idle

Raskin said the deal was made by Harriman and Assembly Speaker Oswald D. Heck at a pleasant legislative outing at Montauk.

TEAMSTERS' TRUCE: The ILA has carried on the fight against the commission's regimentation with little support from the rest of labor. Harry Bridges of the West Coast Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has consistently backed the ILA and noted the danger of the commission's union-busting. ILA leaders have cautiously but gratefully acknowledged that support. The ILWU **Dispatcher** (9/2) reported that at a meeting of the ILA Council on Aug. 7 it was reported that Mayor John Grogan of Hoboken had vowed to spend $100,000 to lick the ILA because its leaders had met with Bridges. Organizer Teddy Gleason stood up and

> ". . . said he knew Bridges and met him every time he was in New York, and always got good advice from him. . . . His statement was greeted with enthusiastic applause."

John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers also has repeatedly demonstrated his support. But last week help came from a new labor quarter. Dave Beck, president of the AFL Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters, was a spearhead of the AFL's raid on the ILA and reportedly hoped to move in on the docks as soon as the ILA was destroyed. Last week, after the strike made plain the ILA's strength, Beck announced negotiations that implied a truce.

He said he expected to arrange a "working agreement"—but not a merger—with the ILA and he described the Waterfront Commission as "inimical" to the best interests of labor.

Facts are dangerous

IN THE MINDS of the Russian and satellite journalists at the Maison de la Presse one found a weird combination of a huge store of facts and statistics on the United States and an impenetrable ignorance about the quality and meaning of American life. . . .

The Russians were almost certainly better armed with mere information about the United States than the Americans were about the Soviet Union. But one felt that if our ignorance of the essential truth about Soviet life matched theirs about American life, it would be a shameful and dangerous thing.

—From a report on journalists at Geneva, New Yorker, Aug. 6, 1955.

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THE ATOM SPY HOAX
by
William A.
Reuben

"CONTROVERSIAL . . . SHOCKING
. . . thorough, systematic and competent . . . this volume is a comprehensive and at points quite detailed analysis of the 'atom spy' cases and trials that have occurred in Canada, England, and the United States. . . . Reuben's thesis is that these atomic cases were manufactured consequences of the cold war and were used to support it, and were not themselves causes of the cold war. In short, his conclusion is that the whole atomic-spy business was a hoax. . . . Reuben's persistent and penetrating probing of the spy trials . . . merits sober consideration. . . . The purpose of this review is to bring Mr. Reuben's book to the attention of thoughtful and sensitive members of the community in the belief that the cause of justice and our political well-being will be better served if his contentions are discussed and evaluated."
—Bernard M. Loomer, Professor of Religion, Divinity School, University of Chicago, in *The Nation*

"AMAZING . . . REALLY MOMENTOUS
. . . In the light of the vast array of discrepancies, contradictions, distortions of facts, altered indictments, dishonest tactics, failures to follow up inflammatory charges with witnesses and evidence to support them (in Sobell's case not a one of the overt acts mentioned in the indictment was ever mentioned at the trial) and the monstrous procedure of pillorying the defendants in the press—all of which appear as the only consistent thread through all the trials—in view of this, it is impossible not to conclude with Reuben that an ulterior, cold-war motive lay behind the entire spy scare and that atom spies are about as real as witches—at least as far as three great governments have been able to prove."
—David Wesley, York *Gazette and Daily*

"ASTOUNDING . . . IRREFUTABLE
. . . This is the first of that debunking literature, based on science and reason, which is bound to arise as the American nation struggles to shake off the delusions which the Cold War planners foisted on the United States. . . . His proof should play an enormous part in restoring our country to sanity, reason and a sense of justice. . . . This is one of the great pages in American journalistic-historical writing. I am convinced that if it could be made available . . . to our schools, universities and trade union membership, it would jolt the nation the way the Dreyfus revelations jolted France."
—Milton Howard, *Masses & Mainstream*

"BRILLIANT . . . OF INESTIMABLE VALUE
. . . **The Atom Spy Hoax** is by long odds the most challenging (and most fact-crammed) arraignment of fraud and frame-up by our government and its allies to come between two covers since the Cold War began . . . reads like a well-constructed whodunit. . . . The thesis of the work challenges the basic premise of the Cold War, and comes to grips with the real question: not why but whether the 'atom spies' spied for the U. S. S. R. The extent to which Reuben is correct indicates the extent of the job American progressives have before them."
—John T. McManus, *National Guardian*

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EVENING IN THE THEATER

The bell is rung in L.A. for a bright new revue

Reviewed by
Michael Wilson

RING THAT BELL, the new Field Theatre revue presented by the NATIONAL GUARDIAN in Los Angeles, is aptly titled. The show is resonant with hope, vitality and good cheer. For breadth of appeal, most first-nighters agree that it tops its successful predecessors of '53 and '54—**Courage Is Contagious** and **State of the Nation.**

Taken as a whole, the revue reflects both the potentialities and problems of political satire and socially significant music in this period of transition. The rousing lyric of the title song sounds the show's objective in the couplet:

Ringing out the ending of a
night of fear,
Ringing in the wonder of a
new day here. . . .

MEAT AXE IS GONE: The musical numbers capture this "Geneva spirit"; but certain of the sketches fail to measure up to the theme's promise. It is not that the sketches are negative and sectarian—and the Field Theatre is to be commended for turning away from the meat-axe, agit-prop satire that occasionally marred progressive productions in the past. Much of the new sketch material is basically funny, and some of it (such as the spoofs on the stock market and civil defense) contains moments of high mirth. Still, these sketches lack the clarity of focus, the subtlety and sharp wit that would give free rein to the proved comic talents of Al Hammer and Howland Chamberlain.

This is indeed a time for satire—but it is not an easy time for the satirist. And if progressive sketch writers have not yet quite found their bearings, it behooves us to be patient.

THE BELL IS RUNG: But this shortcoming is far outweighed by the charm of the music and the artisty of the young singers. Notable numbers include: a Japanese Miners Song, poignantly rendered by Doris Hankerson, Irene Bassman and Ernie Lieberman; "City of Pearl," a haunting love melody; "Could You Use A New Friend," a gentle, moving song on Negro-white friendship; and a delightful number on the perils of childhood called "It's Hard To Be Two."

Your reviewer is happy to ring that bell for this production. It is not an "in-group" show, but an evening of entertainment that can please audiences far outside the immediate circle of GUARDIAN readers.

The Los Angeles run of the revue (at the Danish Auditorium, 1359 W. 24th St.) will continue through October 8, with performances every Friday and Saturday evening. Reserved tickets may be obtained through Tiba Willner, 949 Schumacher Drive, Los Angeles 48.

RING THAT BELL. A Field Theatre Musical Revue, presented by The National Guardian; musical numbers staged by Libby Burke. The cast: Ernie Lieberman, Doris Hankerson, Irene Bassman, Al Hammer, Howland Chamberlain, Ruth Sidney, George Foster, Mary Lou Johnson, Priscilla Yablon.

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CALENDAR

Los Angeles

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the SPECTATOR

Thomas Mann

(June 6, 1875 — August 12, 1955)

TWENTY YEARS AGO the government of the Third Reich declared that Thomas Mann had forfeited his citizenship by his self-imposed exile from Germany. He made no comment then but when, a little later, in 1936, Bonn University wrote him that this loss of citizenship forced them to rescind the honorary degree they had bestowed upon him, he replied with is famous open letter: "To the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty
his famous open letter: "To the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty
he said:

> "I have spent four years in an exile which it would be euphemistic to call voluntary. . . . I could never have dreamed, it could never have been prophesied of me at my cradle, that I should spend my later years as an emigré, expropriated, outlawed and committed to inevitable political protest."

This incredulity was well grounded in Mann's whole home-living, conservative temperament. His first non-fiction work was **The Reflections of a Non-Political Man,** written during World War I by the already famous author of **Buddenbrooks.** In it Thomas carries on a 600-page quarrel with his democratic, pacifist younger brother, Heinrich, defending the "traditional German Kultur" of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Wagner against the political concern which non-Germanic "materialist civilization" demanded of the artist and intellectual.

YEAR OF DECISION: But even in the course of this long argument we often feel the older brother is already uneasily making

(Continued on Page 12)

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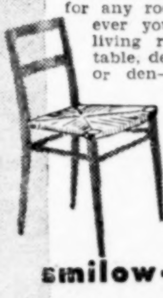

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THE SPECTATOR

Thomas Mann

(Continued from page 11)

up his mind to part with the cherished beliefs he still defended. And in 1923, while working on **The Magic Mountain,** Mann, with a reluctance as great as Hans Castorp's but a far better considered judgment, took the plunge into political activity, appealing to the antagonistic youth of Berlin for their support of the Republic and a lasting peace.

Again, after the Reichstag elections of 1930, Mann made his public "eleventh hour" "Appeal to Reason" in the same hall, telling a dangerously angry audience

> ". . . I am so convinced that I am ready to set not only my pen but my person upon the issue—that the political place of the German citizen is today with the Social-Democratic Party."

Hitler was, in those early days, more than willing to overlook such occasional past indiscretions on the part of a wealthy and famous novelist, and made it clear to Thomas Mann that his return to the world of a-political art would suffice to win him a favored position. But Mann already felt, as he wrote to a former friend, an a-political musician who soon became a fanatical National Socialist,

> "A writer who, in a European situation like ours, would not side with life and the future against the fascination of death, would be like a useless servant."

THE POLITICS OF BEAUTY: An even more explicit statement soon followed in **Lotte in Weimar:**

> "Our time casts a sharp and ruthless light which brings out the politics inherent in everything—in all humanity, all beauty."

This novel, begun at home, was completed abroad, for Mann found it impossible, even though personally unmolested, to breathe the atmosphere of Nazism.

During his six years of European exile he spoke to the world for the silent German anti-fascists and the fighting Spanish loyalists. When, in 1938, he accepted an invitation to the U. S., his first work here presented the cause of Czechoslovakia, of whose betrayal he had learned upon landing. As he said in an autobiographical note a few years ago:

> "Never shall I forget how broken Albert Einstein's voice sounded when he spoke to me over the phone on my arrival in Princeton: 'I have never in my life been so unhappy,' he said. That was the feeling of all good people [about Munich]. . . ."

Although he and his family had been granted honorary Czechoslovakian citizenship as soon as their German passports were recalled, Thomas Mann felt very deeply the need to be rooted in a real homeland and soon decided to adopt the U. S.

WARNING TO THE WEST: As he said in **The Coming Victory of Democracy,** he believed

> ". . . America is aware that the time has come for democracy to take stock of itself, for recollection and restatement and conscious consideration—in a word, for its renewal in thought and feeling."

In that work he also warned the democracies that their victory was imperilled by the irrational fear of socialism,

> ". . . whose menace has driven so many of the propertied classes into the arms of fascism or at any rate inspired them with sympathy for it."

Naturally Mann threw himself whole-heartedly into the growing anti-fascist spirit of World War II. In an address at the Library of Congress late in 1943 he beautifully summarized his mature understanding of the relationship between art and politics. He spoke of the artist's characteristic attitude "of freedom, of ironical objectivity,"

> ". . . yet there are moments, historical conditions, in which it would prove to be weak, egoistic and wholly untimely . . . to shy away from a confession of faith."

COURAGE IS NECESSARY: He warned earnestly of the dangers to come after victory—the danger of a split between democracy and socialist Russia, and of the revulsion with which the people of Europe would greet the victors

> ". . . if democracy has not the courage in this world and afterward to rely upon the popular forces, to see in it a real war of the people and strive toward a new, a freer, and a juster world, the world of social democracy; if . . . unmindful of its own revolutionary traditions it allies itself with the powers of the old order, a has-been order . . . to subdue every revolutionary tendency. . . ."

In an unconsciously and prophetically ironical comment on his personal feelings as a German addressing an audience of American citizens, he also said:

> ". . . it is your good fortune to be able to identify yourselves with the cause . . . of your government. . . . Imagine that you were forced, with all your wishes and hopes, to oppose an American victory as a great misfortune for the entire world."

A SECOND EXILE: The years after the war found Thomas Mann an American citizen. But they also found him sending warm greetings to the Waldorf Peace Conference in 1949 and expressing his concern lest the efforts of the American government succeed in destroying its work. They found him speaking against that government's successful attempt to imprison the Hollywood Ten. They found him urgently appealing against his government's killing of the Rosenbergs. Finally they found him, at 80, again in a self-imposed exile from an atmosphere in which, even though personally unmolested, he could no longer breathe freely.

If, as he died in Switzerland, a second time uprooted, he still thought of our country as his, he may well have again repeated the "brief and fervent prayer" with which he had concluded his letter to the University of Bonn a generation before:

"God help our darkened and desecrated country and teach it to make its peace with the world and with itself!"

—Annette Rubinstein